## Message Text

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**ORIGIN SS-25** 

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 R

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EXT 23152:8-3-73

APPROVED BY S/S - SAMUEL R. GAMMON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

USMISSION OECD PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

CINCPAC HONLULU HI IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EGEN, JA, US, KN, US

SUBJECT: TANAKA SUMMIT: SECTY ROGERS'MEETING WITH FONMIN

- 1. FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY OF COUNTERPART DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN SECRETARY ROGERS AND FONMIN OHIRA HELD JULY 31 IN WHITE HOUSE CABINET ROOM. FULL MEMCONS WILL BE POUCHED.
- 2. KOREA BEGINNING WITH BRIEFING ON HIS TRIP TO SEOUL FOLLOWING ECONCOM, SECTY ROGERS SAID HE HAD GOOD SERIES OF TALKS WITH KOREAN LEADERS AND SAW NO PROBLEMS ARISING IN OUR RELATIONSHIP, PARTICULARLY ON QUESTION OF FORCE REDUCTIONS. HE REITERATED HIS STATEMENT TO OHIRA DURING ECONCOM SECRET SECRET

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THAT WE FORESEE NO REDUCTIONS IN OUR TROOP STRENGTH IN ROK UNTIL END OF FY 74 AND THAT IF ANY REDUCTIONS WERE CONSIDERED AFTER JULY 1974, WE WOULD CONSULT FULLY WITH ROKG

AND ACT IN SUCH A WAY AS NOT TO IMPAIR SECURITY ON KOREAN PENINSULA. SECTY SAID FIVE YEAR TIME TABLE FOR OUR AID TO MODERNIZATION OF ROK DEFENSE CAPABILITIES WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO BE EXTENDED BY ABOUT TWO YEARS BECAUSE OF PROBLEMS WITH CONGRESS. WE HAVE ASSURED KOREANS THAT ANY FURTHER REDUCTION IN TROOP STRENGTH WILL COINCIDE WITH COMPLETION OF MODERNIZATION PROGRAM. BEFORE REDUCTIONS ARE MADE, WE WANT TO BE SURE THE MODERNIZATION PROGRAM IS SUFFICIENTLY FAR ALONG SO THAT ANY FORCE REDUCTIONS WOULD NOT BE OF CONCERN TO THEM INSOFAR AS THEIR SECURITY IS INVOLVED. SECTY HAD CONCLUDED FROM TALKS WITH OUR COMMANDING GENERAL THAT, ON THE WHOLE, MILITARY SITUATION APPEARS FAVORABLE TO ROK, ONLY ADVERSE FACTOR BEING NORTH KOREAN EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN ITS AIR FORCE, ON WHICH WE WILL HAVE TO KEEP CLOSE EYE.

3. TURNING TO PROSPECTS FOR THIS FALL'S UNGA, SECTY SAID WE HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT GOJ AGREES WITH WHAT WE HAVE SAID PUBLICLY ON DUAL REPRESENTATION, I.E. THAT BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN UN DISCUSSION OF KOREAN QUESTION. WE ARE CONCERNED, HOWEVER, OVER POSSIBILITY OF MAJOR DRIVE BY NORTH KOREA TO INVALIDATE ALL PAST UN ACTIONS CONNECTED WITH KOREA AND THAT NORTH KOREANS MIGHT DO THIS WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF ATTACK ON UNCURK. ACCORDINGLY, WE HAVE CONCLUDED: 1) THAT ROK SHOULD TAKE DIPLOMATIC LEAD REGARDING ITS IDEA OF DUAL ADMISSION TO UN AND THAT ROK'S SUPPORTERS SHOULD TRY TO ENLIST AS MUCH SUPPORT FOR THAT POSITION AS THEY CAN: 2) THAT UNCURK SHOULD RECOMMEND ITS OWN ABOLITION, IN WHICH WE WOULD ACOUIESCE AND 3) TO TAKE STRONG POSITION, IF WE ARE CERTAIN OF WINNING ON BASIS ON RELIABLE CANVAS, TO RETAIN UNC ON GROUNDS THAT ITS ABOLITION WOULD CREATE UNDESIRABLE LEGAL AND PRACTICAL PROBLEMS AND CONSTITUTE DELAY IN DUAL ADMISSION PROCESS. WE WOULD ARGUE THAT TIME TO CONSIDER ABOLITION OF UNC WOULD BE AFTER THE TWO KOREANS HAD BEEN ADMITTED TO UN.

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- 4. SECTY ADDED THAT KOREANS WERE HOPEFUL THAT WE COULD ENCOURAGE OTHER NON-COMMUNIST NATIONS NOT TO EXPAND CONTACTS WITH NORTH KOREA EXCEPT ON BASIS OF RECIPROCITY IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES TO INCREASE THEIR CONTACTS WITH ROK.
- 5. FONMIN OHIRA EXPRESSED APPRECIATION OF FACT THAT US HAS TAKEN CAREFUL AND PRUDENT ATTITUDE ON MILITARY SITUATION IN KOREA. WITH REGARD TO UN, OHIRA SAID GOJ DID NOT RPT NOT DIFFER WITH SECTY'S THOUGHTS ON UNCURK AND IDEA OF DUAL ADMISSION. RESPECTING UNC,

HE AGREED IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO CONSULT CLOSELY AND IN ADVANCE AMONG US, JAPAN AND KOREA AND SAID THAT JAPAN LOOKED FORWARD TO SUCH CONSULTATIONS. OHIRA EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING OF BASIC PRINCIPLES SECTY HAD STATED REGARDING CONTACTS WITH NORTH KOREA BUT SAID THAT, FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL REASONS, GOJ FEELS IT NECESSARY TO PERMIT SLIGHT EXPANSION OF UNOFFICIAL CONTACTS WITH NORTH KOREA TO EXTENT THAT THERE IS NO IMPAIRMENT OF BASIC PRINCIPLES. OHIRA ADDED THAT GOJ CONSIDERS IT DESIRABLE TO OPEN NORTH KOREA TO INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES AND THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO MAKE GESTURES TOWARD SOME FORM OF CONTACT WITH

NORTH KOREA IN ORDER TO CONTINUE AND INCREASE JAPANESE ECONOMIC AID TO ROK. DISCUSSION OF KOREAN QUESTION CONCLUDED WITH AGREEMENT THAT WE SHOULD EXERT ALL EFFORTS FOR SUCCESS IN UN SINCE KOREANS WOULD BE VERY UPSET SHOULD WE SUFFER ANOTHER DEFEAT, PARTICULARLY AT A TIME WHEN THEY HAVE TAKEN CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS.

6. PHASE 4 CONTROLS - SECTY ROGERS EXPRESSED
APPRECIATION OF THEIR DISCUSSION OF THE EFFECTS
ON JAPAN OF ECONOMIC CONTROLS DURING ECONCOM AND
SAID THAT JAPANESE VIEWS HAD BEEN CONVEYED TO OUR
GOVERNMENT AND WERE REFLECTED IN ACTS WE EVENTUALLY TOOK.
RECALLING THAT JAPANESE HAD EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE
POSSIBILITY THAT PHASE 4 MIGHT INCLUDE EXPORT CONTROLS
ON WHEAT AND CORN, OHIRA INDICATED APPRECIATION THAT
NO SUCH CONTROLS HAD BEEN IIMPOSED. HE PARTICULARLY
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WELCOMED SECRETARY BUTZ' STATEMENT DURING BRIEFING THE PREVIOLS DAY THAT, EXCEPT UNDER EXTREME CONDITIONS, ADDITIONAL EXPORT CONTROLS WOULD NOT BE IMPOSED.

7. AID TO INDOCHINA - RECALLING HIS DISCUSSION IN TOKYO WITH OHIRA ON THIS SUBJECT, SECTY EXPRESSED APPRECIATION OF REPORTS HE HAD HEARD THAT JAPAN INTENDED TO UNDERTAKE AID PROGRAM FOR INDOCHINA AND INQUIRED HOW GOJ INTENDED TO PROCEED AND WHETHER IT ANTICIPATED ANY DIFFICULTIES IN DIET. OHIRA SAID THAT GVN HAD REQUESTED PROGRAM FROM JAPAN TO INCLUDE REHABILITATION OF BRIDGES AND ROADS, ASSISTANCE FOR HOUSING PROJECTS AND COMMODITY AID IN AMOUNT OF \$61 MILLION. IN RESPONSE, GOJ HAD FIRMED UP PLAN FOR COMBINATION OF GRANTS AND LOANS OF \$50 MILLION DURING JFY 1973 WHICH ENDS MARCH 30, 1974. GRANT PORTION WOULD HAVE TO BE INCLUDED AS PART OF SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET TO BE SUBMITTED TO EXTRAORDINARY DIET SESSION TO BE CONVENED THIS FALL, BUT GOJ DOES NOT ANTICIPATE SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN DIET AND HOPES

FUNDS WILL BE AVAILABLE BY END OF THIS CALENDAR YEAR. HE ADDED THAT IT WOULD CAUSE DIFFICULTY IN DIET IF AMOUNT OF CONTEMPLATED ASSISTANCE WERE TO BECOME PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE. HE THEN ASKED FOR SECTY ROGERS' THINKING REGARDING ASSISTANCE TO LAOS AND CAMBODIA AS WELL AS VIETNAM AND FOR INFORMATIONON STATUS OF PROPOSED CONSULTATIVE GROUP LED BY IBRD.

8. AFTER DESCRIBING COMPLEX SITUATION IN CONGRESS REGARDING FOREIGN ASSISTANCE IN GENERAL AND INDOCHINA IN PARTICULAR, SECTY SAID THAT WE HAVE DONE BETTER THAN WE THOUGHT WE COULD ON QUESTION OF AID TO INDOCHINA AND THAT WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO PROVIDE

SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNTS TO LAOS, CAMBODIA AND VIETNAM. EXTENT OF OUR ASSISTANCE PROGRAM IN INDOCHINA DEPENDS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF PARIS AGREEMENTS AND HOW SOON AND HOW COMPREHENSIVELY CONGRESS REACTS TO THAT SITUATION. CONGRESSIONAL REACTION IN TURN DEPENDS ON HOW OTHER NATIONS, PARTICULARLY JAPAN, CONTRIBUTE TO INDOCHINA ASSISTANCE. SECTY SAID THAT QUESTION OF JAPAN'S WILLINGNESS TO MAKE FINANCIAL CONTRISECRET SECRET

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BUTION COMES UP EACH TIME HE TESTIFIES TO CONGRESS ON THIS SUBJECT. WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO GIVE CLEAR PICTURE OF OUR EXPECTATIONS BY OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER AND CAN KEEP JAPANESE EMBASSY INFORMED AS WE GO ALONG. OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH NORTH VIETNAM ON RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION AID ARE PROCEEDING REASONABLY SATISFACTORILY AND IN A MANNER WHICH CONVINCES US THAT NORTH VIETNAM IS SERIOUS ABOUT WANTING TO PROCEED WITH THIS ASSISTANCE PROGRAM. NEVERTHELESS, PROSPECTS FOR AID TO NORTH VIETNAM DEPEND ON HOW PEACE AGREEMENTS ARE CARRIED OUT AND HOW WILLING CONGRESS WILL BE. WITH REGARD TO IBRD EFFORTS, SECTY SAID HE HAD HEARD ONLY THAT SOME PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE TOWARD FORMATION OF CONSORTIUM GROUP.

9. AT SECTY ROGERS' SUGGESTION, UNDER SECRETARY CASEY BRIEFED JAPANESE ON STATUS OF USG THINKING REGARDING ENERGY PROBLEM. UNDER SECTY SAID US WAS PLEASED TO BE ABLE TO COOPERATE WITH GOJ IN MANY WAYS CONCERNING ENERGY CRISIS, NOTING PARTICULARLY THE PARTICIPATION BY BOTH COUNTRIES IN HIGH LEVEL OECD OIL COMMITTEE WORKING GROUP TO ESTABLISH MEANS OF SHARING AVAILABLE SUPPLIES OF OIL IN EMERGENCY. WE REGARD THIS KIND OF COOPERATION AS BASIC AND FUNDAMENTAL AND ARE WORKING INTENSIVELY TO DEFINE POSSIBLE OPTIONS. IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF GOJ COULD PREPARE ITS THOUGHTS FOR OCTOBER MEETING OF HIGH LEVEL GROUP, WHICH WOULD HELP US

ADDRESS PROBLEM ON BASIS OF RANGE OF OPTIONS AVAILABLE. STATING THAT PRIMIN TANAKA PLACES GREAT EMPHASIS ON ENERGY PROBLEM, FONMIN OHIRA SAID GOJ FEELS IT SHOULD PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY AND COOPERATE IN OECD WORKING GROUP WITH VIEW TOWARD ACHIEVING FRUITFUL RESULTS. US AND JAPAN SHOULD ALSO CONSULT CLOSELY-

10. CASEY ALSO POINTED TO NEED FOR COOPERATION IN DEVELOPING NEW SOURCES OF ENERGY AND IN ENERGY CONSERVATION, NOTING THAT WE HAVE SENT DRAFT OF OVERALL UMBRELLA AGREEMENT ON RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT. FONMIN OHIRA AGREED ON NEED TO EXCHANGE VIEWS AND INFORMATION ON POSSIBLE MEASURES OF SHARING RESEARCH SECRET SECRET

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COSTS. OHIRA SUGGESTED--AND CASEY AGREED--THAT CONSULTATIONS SHOULD GO BEYOND EXPERTS AND INCLUDE POLICY LEVEL IMPUT. CASEY NOTED THAT BROAD AREAS OF COMMON CONCERN INCLUDE QUESTION OF HOW WE CAN MEET REQUIREMENTS WITHOUT UNDULY BIDDING UP PRICES OF OIL, STATING THAT THIS CAN BE HANDLED THROUGH CONSULTATIONS AT HIGH LEVELS SO THAT THERE DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE EFFORT COMBINED AGAINST PRODUCING COUNTRIES. OHIRA AGREED AND SAID JAPANESE WOULD LIKE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON HOW TO PROCEED IN FUTURE.

- 11. UNDER SECTY CASEY WENT ON TO NOTE THREE OTHER AREAS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION: 1) NEED TO EXTEND ECONOMIC COOPERATION TO PRODUCING COUNTRIES TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO MAINTAIN INCREASING LEVEL OF PRODUCTION AND TO WORK OUT MEANS BY WHICH THEIR FINANCIAL RESOURCES WILL FLOW BACK IN PRODUCTIVE WAY; 2) MEANS OF ASSISTING PRIVATE COMPANIES TO DEVELOP NEW RESERVES, AS IN SIBERIA. WE ARE ANXIOUS TO ENCOURAGE AND ASSIST US COMPANIES IN ANY WAY WE CAN; 3) NEED FOR PROVISION OF ADDITIONAL PLANTS TO PROVIDE ENRICHED URANIUM. WE ARE INTERESTED IN JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN BUILDING SUCH PLANTS AND ARE PLEASED THAT JAPAN AND CONSORTIUM OF US COMPANIES HAS SUBMITTED FOR AEC REVIEW A CONTRACT FOR STUDY OF FEASIBILITY OF JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN GASEOUS DIFFUSION OR CENTRIFUGE ENRICHMENT PLAN.
- 12. RESPONDING TO THESE THREE POINTS, FONMIN OHIRA SAID THAT 1) JAPAN WANTS TO CONSULT CLOSELY AND TO COOPERATE IN ANY WAY IT CAN ON EXPANDING PETROLEUM PRODUCTION CAPACITY OF MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES; 2) PRIMIN PLACES PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON US-JAPANESE JOINT EFFORTS IN EXPANDING PETROLEUM PRODUCTION NOT ONLY IN SIBERIA BUT ON VERY BROAD BASIS. JAPAN IS ASKING PRIVATE JAPANESE COMPANIES TO FIRM UP ARRANGEMENTS WITH US FIRMS FIRST

SINCE GOJ REGARDS COOPERATION WITH US AS INDISPENSABLE AND NECESSARY TO SUCCESS OF SIBERIAN VENTURES; AND 3)
JAPAN'S POLICY ON URANIUM ENRICHMENT IS TO SECURE STABLE SUPPLY THROUGH COOPERATION WITH US. JAPAN HAS HAD SOME APPROACHES FROM FRANCE, AND USSR, BUT AS OF NOW CANNOT SECRET
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CONCEIVE OF ANY SOURCE OTHER THAN US AS BEING STABLE IN COMMERCIAL TERMS. JAPAN WOULD CONSULT WITH US BEFORE MAKING ANY OTHER ARRANGEMENTS. JAPAN HIGHLY RESPECTS US FOR DEVELOPING ENRICHMENT TECHNIQUES AND NOW HOPES TO BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE AND TO SHARE COST OF THIS VENTURE. ROGERS

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